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FELLOWSHIP

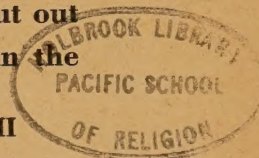
January 1943



Vol. IX—No. 1

Peace will not come out of a clash of arms, but out of Justice, lived and done by unarmed nations in the face of odds.

— M. K. GANDHI



How the Fellowship Began

by

RICHARD ROBERTS

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Federalism and Force

by Harrop Freeman and Theodore Paullin

The Steep Ascent

by Philippe Vernier

Marked for Invasion

by John Nevin Sayre

Small Community Occupations

by Arthur E. Morgan

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Three Pages on C.P.S.

F.O.R. Message to the Churches

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John Haynes Holmes

LETTERS, articles, and actions of certain of my pacifist brethren bring to my attention a strange confusion which seems to exist in many minds on the question of conscription in relation to war. I find it assumed again and again that conscription and war involve one and the same problem, and dictate one and the same reaction. I wonder if this is true!

I

An attempt to analyze this question would seem to indicate that there are three factors in the situation before us:

(a) First, there is *conscription*, which may be defined as an exercise of governmental authority in the interest of mobilizing and directing the nation's life to the accomplishment of a certain end. Conscription may be carried out by force, as in a dictatorship; or it may be carried out by consent, by due process of law, as in a democracy. It may or may not be related to war. I remember William James' great essay on *A Moral Equivalent of War*, in which he advocated a conscription of youth "to coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to dish-washing, clothes-washing, and window-washing, to foundries and stoke-holds, and to frames of sky-scrappers." Such conscription, wrote Professor James, "would preserve in the midst of a pacific civilization the manly virtues . . ." Men thus drafted "in the immemorial human warfare against nature . . . would tread the earth more proudly, the women would value them more highly, they would be better fathers and teachers of the following generation."

Our attitude toward this general principle of conscription will be, and should be, determined by our political philosophy. If we incline toward an extreme individualistic type of philosophy, we will oppose conscription. If on the other hand we tend toward a socialistic philosophy of life, we may find many reasons for supporting it. Conscription of men and women for national service will seem as natural, perhaps, as the conscription of children for education.

(b) Second, as a factor in this problem, is *military conscription*. This is the use of the general conscription principle to the specific end of war. There was a time when wars were fought by professional armies, or by volunteers, or by slave recruits. The massing or mobilizing of whole populations for war purposes began, if I am correctly informed, in the French Revolution, and was carried over into the Napoleonic Wars. The process has now completed itself, so to speak, in the total war of the present day which engulfs us all.

Most persons in favor of the governmental principle of conscription will of course favor also military conscription. Persons opposed to such principle will oppose it the more when carried over into the dread business of war. Pacifists will object—not necessarily to the principle involved, but to the end and aim to which in this case it is directed. When proposed as legislation, they will oppose its adoption. When enacted by due democratic process, they will continue their opposition, but at the point where war and not conscription is primarily the issue.

(c) This brings me to the third factor in the problem—namely, *war* itself. Here for the first time the pacifist position becomes wholly clear. Pacifists are opposed to war as a matter of fixed religious conviction. War they regard as a violation of the will of God, and an offense against the sanctity of man. They think it is equally a sin if fought by a professional, a volunteer, or a conscripted army. Whichever of these means is employed is not the essential matter. The pacifist is opposed to them all so long as they are tied up to war.

II

This analysis is valuable, it seems to me, as indicating where we pacifists stand, and where we should make our protest felt. Our business is not with conscription, which all of us would oppose if carried out by force to totalitarian ends, but which many of us might support if carried out by consent to democratic ends. Our business is only incidentally with military conscription, as a subsidiary factor of the phenomenon of war in our time. Our main business is with *war*. Nothing must be allowed to confuse this issue. Under no circumstances must we be diverted from this one cause.

Yet all around me I seem to see conscientious objectors who are recalcitrant primarily on the conscription question, and are only secondarily concerned with the war question. Are these men, I am tempted to ask, anarchists who are opposed to government; or are they pacifists who are opposed to war? This question is bound to come up if conscientious objection is registered at the wrong point, or in the wrong way. And this is just what is happening, on all too great a scale, at the present moment. Nothing could be more disastrous to pacifism, for it muddles the issue, confuses the public mind, and in the end must wreck our cause.

III

Keep the issue clear—that's the point! The first and most important step to this end is to recognize the distinction

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tion between a political philosophy which has to do with the policy of conscription and a religious conviction which has to do with the fact of war. The political philosophy and the religious conviction may coincide, especially as conscription becomes involved in war. But, if only as a matter of clear thinking, the two should be kept apart. In the fight against war, opposition to conscription must be kept in its place. Such opposition is incidental, subordinate, and, in the hour of crisis, non-essential. War is our objective; and against this must be directed our "all-out" effort.

Julius Eichel Freed

Julius Eichel, Brooklyn chemist who was on trial for refusal to register under Selective Service on April 2 last, was freed on December 2 when the case against him was *nolle prosequi*. Eichel, one of the few non-registrants in the 45-64 age group to be prosecuted, had been in and out of jail several times since his arrest in August.

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

January 1943



Vol. IX—No. 1

The story of how the First World War burst suddenly upon the minds and spirits of individuals who were led to form the Fellowship of Reconciliation is here told by one of the principal founders.

How the Fellowship Began

By RICHARD ROBERTS*

IN the latter part of July, 1914, my wife and I with our three children went from London for our summer vacation to Aldburgh on the East coast of England. For some weeks we had realized that international relations in Europe were in a condition of acute tension, but as there had been crises of the same kind off and on for some years previously, we expected that this crisis would be resolved in some way, as the previous ones had been. So we and many beside us went on our holidays without too much apprehension.

After a few days, I left Aldburgh to attend the first conference of the Presbyterian Fellowship, a society of young men and women held at Swanwick in Derbyshire, at which place the Student Christian Movement had not so long before acquired an estate for conference purposes. For the first few days, nothing happened to disturb our program. Then the bolt fell: war was declared! We dissolved the conference the next day. I made my way across England to Aldburgh and then went on to London, since I felt it my duty to be in my own pulpit on the first Sunday of the war.

I cannot recall the sermon that I hastily prepared for that Sunday; I know only that it was a potpourri of my own conflicting emotions. But that sermon was never delivered, for just before rising to deliver it, I made a discovery.

For a considerable time past, a number of young German lads, engaged in business in London, had made a habit of coming to my church every Sunday morning, sitting together in two pews in the gallery. That morning *they were not there!* They had become very dear to me—as dear as the English lads—and I had a shattering intuition that perhaps my boys, the British and the German, might meet on some battlefield in Europe, where it would be their business to kill one another!

I stood petrified for some minutes; then I found words to say to my people that my duty was to report what I had

discovered, and to ask them to consider as Christians the appalling circumstance that lads of that congregation, who had worshipped God together in that church, might, under the orders of their superiors, be called to murder each other. What more I said that morning, I cannot recall. But I knew when I left the church that morning that as a minister of Christ I could take no part in a war.

Christians Discuss Course

In the years before the war, the Student Christian Movement had done a great deal to bring into closer fellowship the younger ministers and laymen of the Anglican and the Free Churches. I determined to call by telephone a number of these men with whom I was well acquainted and ask them to come together to discuss our relation as Christians to the war. We held a meeting shortly after in our empty home on Crouch Hill. My own immediate ministerial neighbors came, and with them Dr. Orchard and others representing the Free Churches. On the Anglican side was G. K. Bell, now Bishop of Chichester, Edwyn Bevan, and several others.

We were a very bewildered company. Since the Boer War at the turn of the century, we had had no occasion to consider the Christian attitude to war. Henry Hodgkin had promised to come, and I remember how anxiously we awaited him. Surely he would bring, out of the long testimony of the Society of Friends against war, some clear word that might resolve our bewilderment. But so far as our course of action was concerned Henry was as puzzled as we were. The only two things about which we were fairly clear were (1) that Great Britain was bound in honor to go to the succor of its ally France, and (2) that war was unchristian.

We did decide, however, that we might try to do something to safeguard the Christian faith and testimony from being swamped by what seemed likely to be the greatest war in history. We decided to meet again and at the next meeting we came to the conclusion that we would issue a series of tracts under the title *Papers for Wartime*. We

*Former Moderator, United Church of Canada.

appointed William Temple (now Archbishop of Canterbury), editor.

In the first issue the editor stated the purpose of the *Papers* in these terms:

"Great Britain is engaged in a war from which, as we believe, there was offered to our nation no honorable way of escape. . . . While this may suffice to make immediate duty clear, the war remains in the deepest sense a challenge to Christian thought. The present bitter struggle between nations which for centuries have borne the Christian name indicates some deep-seated failure to understand the principles of Christ and to apply them to human affairs.

"This series of papers embodies an attempt to reach, by common thought, discussion, and prayer a truer understanding of the meaning of Christianity and of the Church, to the individual, to society, and to the world."

The first *Paper* was written by William Temple under the title, *Christianity and the War*; the second was mine, entitled: *Are We Worth Fighting For?* Among other early contributors were Edwyn Bevan, Russell Maltby, W. E. Orchard, W. H. Moberly, and D. S. Cairns—all of them men of real distinction.

Unhappily, as more papers were published and time went on, a strong drift toward another emphasis became apparent. Some of the group took the line that the *Papers* should take on a more propagandist tone and put more stress upon the winning of the war, and it became evident that the majority favored that policy. Henry Hodgkin and I found ourselves in a hopeless minority. We agreed that we could not serve usefully any longer upon the Committee, and that we must create another body that would be more forthright in maintaining the Christian front during the war.

Launching the Fellowship

We did not formally resign from the Committee; we simply ceased to attend its meetings. But we were not idle. There was a house in Pimlico, near the Thames, which was the home of a loosely organized body of forward-looking people called the Collegium, presided over by a Quaker lady, Lucy Gardner. To this house we invited all the people of our convictions that we knew of, and as time went on, our numbers grew until we had the makings of a respectable and active association.

The problem before us was to try to work out a Christian pacifist philosophy that could be accepted by the group, or at least by a substantial majority of it. Upon this we worked for several weeks. We had not much to go on. The existing Peace Society in London had accepted the war as inevitable and no light on our problem was forthcoming from that quarter. We went on with our search, and at length the moment came when we had reasonable certainty that we had solid and stable ground to stand on. We had also gathered together a considerable number of people, some of whom were firmly anti-war in conviction, and others who were outraged by the war and were inhibited from supporting it, and were seeking for light.

A conference was called to meet at Cambridge, in Trinity College, during the Christmas vacation. And there the Fellowship of Reconciliation was born in the last four days of the fateful year 1914. A good central committee was appointed to carry on for a year; Henry Hodgkin was elected chairman, Lucy Gardner continued as honorary secretary; and we continued to meet at the Collegium house.

It soon became apparent, however, that this arrangement was not satisfactory. The house was too inaccessible to be a good headquarters for a young and vigorous society. The Fellowship should be near the main arteries of London traffic. And since it would be impracticable for Lucy Gardner, in view of her other commitments, to go daily to an office far from her headquarters, it became necessary not only to find new headquarters but another secretary as well.

Henry Hodgkin was insistent that I should take the task, but at the moment I was disinclined to do so. It would necessitate leaving my church, and my position as convener of the Youth Committee of the Presbyterian Church. Presently, however, my relations with my church officers took a sharp turn for the worse, and I saw that I should have to resign my charge. So it turned out that I was free to accept the secretaryship of the Fellowship. I entered upon it on the first of July, 1915.

The New Headquarters

Then came the search for the office. Henry and I hunted for what we wanted for several days and found it in Red Lion Square, Bloomsbury, near Oxford Street. That we made a good choice is clear from the fact that it is the headquarters of the Fellowship to this day. It may be of some interest to record that the rooms that we had taken had been inhabited at one time by William Morris, the artist, Gabriel Rossetti and other members of that *coterie* who established a new tradition in English art.

The staff of the new office consisted at first of the secretary and a competent typist, plus some voluntary help for addressing and mailing circulars and the like.

But help of another kind came, too. A young Scots student, Lewis MacLachlan, came to London and offered me his services, and served us well. If I remember rightly he remained with me until he went to Holland with a Friends refugee unit.

And then George Davies came to offer his services. He was a banker in North Wales, who had himself been an officer in the territorial army but had been convinced of the evil of the military system and had resigned from it. It is impossible to describe George Davies without recourse to superlatives. When he came into my office unannounced, I could think of nothing that described the effect that he had on me save some superlative like "the sun in splendor"! What he meant to us while he was with us can never be told. Later the Military Service Act sent him to Wormwood Scrubbs Prison. While he was in that prison a friend who had visited him was leaving through the prison gates when my brother-in-law, an officer in the Army, met the friend, and recognizing him, said, "What on earth has happened to you?" The man answered, "Well, I seem to have been in the presence of Jesus Christ. . . . I have been with George Davies." Today George Davies is the leader in a very remarkable social work among the coal miners of the valley which has been made memorable by the book, *How Green Is My Valley*.

In the fall of 1915 we sent Henry Hodgkin over to America, and he planted the roots of the Fellowship there. I followed him the next year.

Very soon after the Fellowship went to Red Lion Square we started a monthly periodical called *The Venturer*. This title was suggested by a passage in F. W. H. Myers' great poem, *St. Paul*:

"Lo, as some venturer from his stars receiving,
 Promise and presage of sublime emprise,
 Wears evermore the seal of his believing
 Deep in the dark of solitary eyes. . . ."

It helped us a good deal in the early stages. We had a number of competent contributors, and very soon it paid for itself. Its "monthly notes" were written by one of the best journalists in London, who was a member of the Fellowship. If you look up the *New York Times* on any Sunday, you will see a column of literary notes from London, signed by H. W. Horwill. It was he who wrote the *Venturer's* monthly notes.

Another man of distinction who gave us great comfort and encouragement in those days was John Skinner, principal of Westminster College, Cambridge, author of the Commentary on Genesis of the famed International Critical Commentary.

"Peace Is Something to Be Waged"

We chose the word *Reconciliation* in the Fellowship's title partly because there was a British Peace Society with an office in London, and it was important that we should not be mixed up with it by using the word *peace* in our name. And for another reason we preferred the word reconciliation. Through all the years peace had been chiefly conceived as the absence of war. But what we were called to do, as we believed, was to wage war on war. For us peace was something to be waged, as war was waged. Peace is not a passivity, a state of rest, a lull between wars.

It must be conceived as an activity; and the name of that activity is *Reconciliation*, which is the finest of all arts, the art and practice of turning enemies into friends. It is the essential core of Christian divinity and of Christian ethics. Its chief exemplar is God—and its classical statement is to be found in St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthian Church:

"If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new. And all things are of God who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ, and has given to us the ministry of reconciliation: to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them, and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation."
 2 Cor. 5:17-19

This implies that Reconciliation is a universal principle, to be practiced on every plane and in every department of life. It is to be practiced toward the stranger and toward the difficult neighbor, and is to follow us into the store, the office, the workshop, the field. It is the fundamental principle by which we should regulate our public relations, our politics, whether domestic or international, and our commercial and professional concerns. When Jesus prayed for his disciples on the eve of his passion he asked of his father

"That they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us."

That is the will of God, that men should be reconciled to Him and to one another.

Federalism and Force*

By HARROP FREEMAN AND THEODORE PAULLIN

AN INVITATION

*You Are Cordially Invited
 To Sit As A Delegate In The Convention
 To Plan A New World Organization
 To Maintain Peace*

SUPPOSE you received that invitation in your mail tomorrow. Would you have a general theory on which you would attempt to construct world order? Would you be able to apply the lessons of history? And, particularly, would you attempt to base whatever organization was formed on coercion or on voluntary cooperation?

That last will be a basic decision statesmen must make, and until you and I are clearer in our own thinking about it we should not be too critical of the political leaders. Yet if there is any one lesson that stands out in history, it is that whenever public opinion has passionately desired the next stage in the development of unity (whether it be from tribe to city, city to state, or state to nation) there have appeared the great statesmen necessary to accomplish that desire.

*This article, written by the Director and Associate Director of the Pacifist Research Bureau, is adapted from the Introduction to the P.R.B.'s new publication, *Coercion of States: In a Federation*.

¹ *The United States and the League of Nations, 1918-1920.*

² *The League of Nations, 1918.*

How Urgent Is the Task?

Two wars in a generation have jarred us from our apathy. We have begun to wonder if the United States can maintain itself apart from the interests of the rest of the world. Denna Fleming summarizes the six world wars we have taken part in and says:

"It is conceivably possible that the United States might escape the direct effects of another general European or Asiatic war, although there is no historical warrant for such a hope. We have taken part in every world war that has occurred since Jamestown was settled in 1607."¹

The Task Is Urgent!

Are We Ready?

The prophetic words of Professor A. F. Pollard in 1917 come again to us through the headlines depicting the present war—the most bestial of all time:

" . . . at its (World War I) beginning I ventured to suggest that its essential character was a civil war; and civil wars are the growing pains of unity. They are disputes over the articles of association, and men do not wage them until they have consciously or unconsciously agreed to be bound together."

"Internationalism is not now a dream or an ideal, it is a sober fact if not a dire necessity. . . ."²

That is another way of saying that the intangible factors that make men and groups unite voluntarily and keep them united have progressed to a point demanding world union. These factors are: geographic, economic, and cultural interdependence; the increase in the number of fields of cooperative endeavor; the elimination of causes of friction; the growing understanding and appreciation among people; the development of transportation, communication, trade, industry, education, interstate migration, and industrial and labor unions; and common experience with political institutions, and therefore a determination to make the undertaking successful. All these result in a new and higher loyalty that embraces the component parts.

But we realize also that as men unite in larger units they invariably retain some of the loyalties to and aspects of the last smaller unit. So today loyalty to nation (nationalism) and national sovereignty occupy the stage along with a desire for unity.

Is There a Plan?

We conclude from the study of federalism that it presents the basic plan for world cooperation. We are not speaking of an oversimplified proposal that claims to have all the answers, but rather of a general framework in which to operate and within which to make specific plans.

Today's world, wishing to unite, yet pervaded by nationalism and the idea of national sovereignty, is in the same condition as that which has called forth plans basically federal throughout history. One authority has laid down the conditions that give birth to federalism:

"They must desire union, and must not desire unity . . . a federal government will hardly be formed unless many of the inhabitants of the separate states feel stronger allegiance to their own state than to the federal state represented by the common government.

"From the notion that national unity can be reconciled with state independence by a division of powers under a common constitution between the nation on the one hand and the individual states on the other, flow the three leading characteristics of completely developed federalism: the supremacy of the constitution, the distribution among bodies with limited and co-ordinate authority of the different powers of government, the authority of the Courts as interpreters of the constitution."³

Federalism is basically voluntary, not founded on force, and therefore is consistent with a high regard for personality.

Victory or Solution?

All government plans assume a knock-out victory and then dictation of the "new order" (be it of German, British, American or Japanese origin) that will free the world. This is error in thinking that comes from identifying *war* with the *securing of peace*. The creation of a world order is not a *conflict* in which there can be victor and vanquished; it is a *problem* in which there can only be a solution.

If the history of union and federation proves anything, it shows that victory and dictation by a victor are not the source of union or federation, nor are they conducive to the air of compromise and adjustment under which any problem involving human beings must be approached.

Coercion or Cooperation?

Many people agree that no just or permanent world order can be established by victory and dictation. More, however, seem to believe that any system established can only be maintained by military force and coercion exercised against the member nations. We believe that this is unrealistic in the light of history. (Note: We are not now speaking of a *police force operating on individuals under law*; we are thinking of *coercion of states or nations*.)

On this point these lessons are clear: a provision to coerce states assumes that the states are not going to abide by their agreements—the best way known to make agreements into "scraps of paper."

Second: Coercion can be exercised only against small states and soon falls under the control of a large state or coalition of states.—(We disregard for the moment the immorality of a system that coerces the weak but lets the strong go free regardless of their offenses.)

Third: The situations that develop within the union, like the original situation are problems, not conflicts. Where adjustment of the problem rather than coercion of states has been employed differences eventually have disappeared. Where coercion has been attempted the problem has remained unsettled and often aggravated.

Fourth: Sovereign states will be unwilling to form a union of coercion that can be used against themselves as States in a part of the plan.

Fifth: "Overwhelming force" will not deter a state from refusing the mandate of the union and seceding if its grievance is great enough, even though the chances of civil war and its own defeat are great.

Sixth: When force appears to work for union, force is itself unnecessary—it is a mere barometer of unifying forces that have been at work.

Nowhere are the conclusions toward which the facts lead better stated than by Dr. L. C. Jacks (drawing his lessons from the British and American experience):

"These questions may all be summed into one. Are the difficulties of union among the European states today hard set in the assertion of national sovereignty, and armed to the teeth for asserting it, greater on the whole than those successfully overcome by the American statesmen of 1787? The answer is—they are immensely greater for those who would base the League of Nations on coercion. . . . But for those who would embark the League on more profitable forms of cooperation, with a view to reducing the likelihood that these nations will 'want to fight,' the difficulties are less. Forms of international cooperation, and the means of achieving it, unknown and undreamed of in 1787, are now awaiting a statesmanship wise enough to make the most of them. It will be a tragedy if they are neglected and the attempt made to restore the principle of coercion into a League of sovereign states each armed and still arming in the determination not to be coerced in any form or from any source. . . . The result is that the British Commonwealth of Nations on the one hand, and the United States on the other, stand before the world today as objects revealing the only principle on which an enduring League of Nations can ever be founded. Both have solved the problem which the League of Nations has yet to solve on a greater scale. Both are non-coercive Leagues of Nations."⁴

³ A. V. Dicey in *Law of the Constitution*.
⁴ *International Conciliation*, December 1936.

For the person who wishes to establish himself in a small community there are many occupations that will be mutually profitable. Dr. Morgan lists a few of them in this third article of a series.

Small Community Economics

III. Occupations

By ARTHUR E. MORGAN

THIS third article in a series on small community economics deals with opportunities in occupations that can be of direct service to a community. A variety of such occupations will make the community not only more nearly self-sustaining, but also a more satisfactory place to live and work because needed services are available.

One of the finest characteristics a community can have is balance or good proportion. The ideal condition would be one in which every major need would be met, while no need would be so oversupplied as to cause duplication and waste. Of course, such a state never is completely achieved, just as no man has perfect bodily proportions and perfect health, but the degree to which it is approached is a measure of the excellence of the community. Each person who has this aim clearly in view can contribute to its realization by the way in which he handles his personal problems.

The aim of a person exploring for a community calling should be not to get part of the income from somewhere else by taking away a part of the business already being well handled, but to supply some necessary service being omitted or undersupplied. Whenever one duplicates services already being adequately provided, he is not a producer, but a social parasite. If there are already enough food stores in a town, and if the service is being provided economically and well, then to add another one is to lower the standard of living of the community. More time and more investment will be required to provide the same community needs.

In many towns, because there are too many competing stores, no one of them is able to carry a good stock or to give good or economical service. At the same time, other services that would add to the quality of life may be left unsupplied. A man has no moral right to take his livelihood from a community unless the result to the community is distinctly better service and better living.

In seeking a community occupation, therefore, the question should not be: "What kind of occupation will the community support?" The easiest answer to that question might add another store or filling station or doctor or lawyer, or other conventional service, when there are enough already. Rather the question should be, "What kind of additional service will best fill out the life of the community and add range, quality, and interest without unduly taxing its economic resources?"

Sometimes existing services, as in medicine, food stores, or automobile service stations, are so inadequate that better provisions are justified. Unless some such genuine need is found that can reasonably be supported by the com-

munity, the person seeking an occupation should not undertake to get his support from that community. Either he should undertake to supply some goods or services for an outside market, thus broadening the economic base of the community, or else he should leave the community and go to some other place where he is needed.

Very often a person leaves his home community and seeks opportunity elsewhere, not because there is no need at home for goods and services which the community can afford to buy, but because he lacks the experience, outlook, and imagination, combined with the necessary character, to undergo the preparation necessary for establishing a worthwhile new activity. A very large number of small American communities are in need of and could support services they do not have. Very often the community cannot support some kind of service which it greatly needs. Wherever a new service is added, the person who supplies it must live partly by buying from the outside, thus sending away part of the money of the community. The total of the money thus sent out by the community as a whole should not exceed the total taken in by it. The community might afford needed services if it were providing some additional product or services for the outside market which would bring in the needed money.

If the community can see its economic problem as a whole, and can aim to solve it gradually as a whole, though by specific and limited undertakings, its chances for being able to afford the services it needs will be increased.

Specific Community Callings

There is great unevenness in the distribution of services in American communities. A particular need may be oversupplied in one place and undersupplied in another. This is true even of such standard services as food stores and automobile service stations. It is much more frequently the case where less universal needs are involved.

One town of 2,500 population, with an equal tributary farm population, will have an excellent hardware store, while another similarly situated will not. One such town may have a good small clinic and hospital, serving the region for twenty miles around. Another will have no such facilities. The same will hold true of occupations requiring less investment, such as plumbing or electrical work.

Obviously, if one is able to fill some standard and well-recognized need, the necessity for pioneering and risk involved in undertaking new or unusual projects is reduced. Where one can find an unfilled need in a standard field, good management generally will insure a moderate income

in return for steady, consistent work, but the income would be very definitely limited. If a person or a group of persons can find some new type of service not being rendered the social contribution may be greater, while competition, at least for a time, may be less. Changes in our way of life have resulted in many new occupational possibilities.

Small Scale Accounting. Tax laws and sharper competition make it increasingly necessary for small as well as large business men to keep definite accounts. Many do not know how to do so, and yet are not justified in employing full-time bookkeepers or accountants, or the services of the well-paid representatives of large accounting firms. Many possibilities exist for small town and rural accountant firms, consisting of one or more persons, who will care for the accounts of small business men.

Such a firm might keep accounts for rural stores, automobile service stations, physicians, dentists, lawyers, dairymen, large farmers, plumbing and electrical shops, hotels, and many other establishments. In some cases an hour or two of service a week would be enough. For some firms a half or a third of a man's time might be required.

A rural accounting practice might grow to serve several communities or perhaps a considerable area. Charges would have to be on a small-town level, but adequate for living in a small community. Such a practice would have to be built up gradually, beginning with perhaps one or two clients. While clients are few more time could be spent on building business. Local young men and women might be trained as assistants to handle accounting for special fields, such as general stores or automobile service stations.

Rural Economic Service. In association with small community accounting service a practice might be developed in general technical and industrial services for rural firms. Quite frequently small business failures are due, not to innate unsoundness in the venture, but to the lack of some specific quality in the owner or manager. He may lack judgment as to proper limits of investment in equipment, he may be following a bad policy in accounting. A general business service, organized to work with small economic units, with moderate charges, by helping to overcome such specific weaknesses in normal times, might greatly enlarge the field for small investments and might help to stabilize rural industries and rural life. The development of such a career would be difficult but satisfying.

Maintaining Mechanical Appliances. The mechanizing of modern life has enormously increased the number of mechanical appliances used in small communities. Sometimes the manufacturer maintains a local agency, but often not. There is room in many communities for men who will qualify themselves to maintain the mechanical equipment of the community and of the surrounding region. Careful study would be necessary of the types being used, relations would need to be established with the manufacturers, and the public should be made aware of the services available. If the home community should be too small for such a service, several communities might be covered.

A Community Mechanic. Many small communities cannot afford a plumber, an electrician, and a general mechanic. Two or three years of training would prepare a

competent man with appropriate native bent to perform all three services. If the community were too small, here again more than one community could be served.

A Community Machine Shop. With modern developments in welding, a broken piece of equipment does not require that the machine be thrown away or that a new part be ordered from the factory. A modern small-town machine shop with skillful service and moderate equipment can be a thoroughly stable business and a very great convenience to a community or group of communities.

Community Recreation Service. In many communities of 1,500 to 5,000 there are no adequate recreation facilities for young people. A man and wife might take over an old store building or mill or barn and develop a recreation center. In some towns a considerable number of families would pay three to five dollars a month to have excellent personal associations and recreation facilities provided for their sons and daughters. In addition to individual and social games there could be provision for handicrafts, printing presses, and various other craft work. In the course of time such an undertaking probably would be absorbed into the community budget and supported from public or community chest funds. Sometimes commercial amusement places at some distance from the town with a fine quality of administration might become community assets rather than places of questionable reputation.

Nursery Schools. Many small communities could support nursery schools. In some cases a wife could administer one while her husband was at work elsewhere.

Rest Homes. There is need in many communities for rest homes for convalescents—for persons who cannot longer afford expensive hospital or sanitarium treatment but who are not yet ready to resume home duties. Many small communities have large, over-built houses, vestiges of more ostentatious days, that would be available for such a purpose.

Preparation for College. The junior college has been a great American development, yet only a relatively few communities are so fortunate as to have one. In many a community it might be possible for a small group of educated men and women to carry high school graduates through the work of the freshman college year at half the cost of going away to college, and thus make college education available to a larger number of persons.

Cooperative Enterprises

Community Cooperatives. Many kinds of rural community cooperatives are feasible. Service as director or secretary of a cooperative may provide a fair livelihood. Credit unions are needed in many communities. Trust fund cooperatives, to administer the estates of widows and minors, have been successful among the Mennonites. Rural fire insurance cooperatives are practicable, either independent or associated with the Ohio Farm Bureau Insurance organization in several states. In many communities the Ohio Farm Bureau is looking for competent insurance representatives. Cooperative community medicine is growing all over the United States. One community, or a group of communities, may provide for a cooperative clinic or hospital. Opposition of the American Medical Association to such forms of service is gradually becoming less effective.

Minnesota has developed very successful cooperative burial services, cutting about in two the previous cost of such service.

Cooperative farming, with common ownership of equipment, may succeed if the persons involved are competent and are actually cooperative in spirit, and if jealousy, backbiting, and selfishness do not prevent it. A cooperative farm, perhaps operating several hundred acres, may provide diversity of occupation, such as farm labor, management, care of stock, maintenance of mechanical equipment, and sales and accounting.

The cooperative field in relation to rural life is so broad as to be beyond the limits of a brief article.

Consolidated Callings. Sometimes callings that are distinctly separated in large cities would be feasible for small communities if several were combined in one firm. Such consolidation not only would increase the total amount of business of a single firm, but would partially overcome seasonal irregularities. For instance, the same firm might take down and store or replace screen doors and windows or storm-windows; it could exterminate termites or other house pests; it could install and service furnaces or other heating systems; it could install insulation against heat and cold in old residences; and it might add roofing and spouting work. Varied as these fields seem to be, all the necessary skills could be included in a group of three or four men, and the labor and transportation facilities could be used in common.

Another firm might combine a mimeographing service, addressing and mailing, part-time stenographers and secretaries, a public address amplification service, a public stenographer, and a local speakers' bureau. Such combinations are no more forced than that of the country bank which serves also as an insurance office, real estate sales firm, rental agency, and travel bureau.

For women a considerable number of small community occupations are possible. They include nursing, serving as part-time secretary to a number of persons or firms, part-time bookkeeping, mimeographing, typing, advertising and mailing, nursery school operation, canning and preserving local fruits and vegetables for others, baking whole wheat or other special breads, teaching housekeeping, cooking, or secretarial work to high school graduates, operating a recreation center, operating a home for convalescents.

Other Fields Open

For men, or for men and women working together, a greater range of occupations is possible, including some of the above. In view of the excellence of home laundry equipment, a large-sized family laundry outfit would be enough to operate a laundry for a considerable community.

In an increasing number of communities a man is establishing himself as fruit grower to the community, raising apples, with perhaps pears, peaches, plums, and grapes. He plants ten to a hundred acres, and later builds a storage house with cooling equipment, grading sheds, etc. He masters the arts of pruning, spraying, picking, and packing. Then with a good distribution of varieties through the seasons, he supplies near-by markets. If he is on or near a main traveled road he will sell almost his entire crop to people who come for it. Here as everywhere there should be care not to undertake a project where the need is already well supplied. Fruit growing is a specialized field in which

the amateur can easily go wrong, and at best hard work is required for the income received. But it is a field in which centralization has not destroyed the feasibility of well chosen and well managed small enterprises.

Any list of community services can be no more than suggestive of the possibilities. One might take the classified telephone directory of a large city and study its headings for callings for which he might be qualified, and which might be adjusted to small communities or to groups of communities.

There are many services usually available in large cities but commonly absent in small towns which would be feasible if supplied to a group of small communities or to a rural region. Services to a group of small communities may be almost as convenient from headquarters in a small community as from a large city. Operating expenses and labor supply may be much less expensive, especially if associated with subsistence farming. Taxes and municipal expenses usually are much less burdensome in small towns and villages. For the same reasons, residence and business headquarters in a small community may not be incompatible with service to near-by larger communities. A calling which could be sustained by a city of ten or twenty thousand may be practicable for a group of smaller communities, or for a rural region with a similar total population.

Whether a given project will be feasible will depend, of course, on many factors. Does the person interested in the prospect really realize what is involved in any such entrepreneur activity? Does he have the necessary qualifications, or has he the time, the self-discipline, the aptitude, and the resources to develop them? Is the community large enough and not too large? Does it have economic or cultural status to use and appreciate the proposed service? If the community in question is not large enough, could the proposed service be rendered to several near-by communities? Can the person involved survive economically while getting a start?

Working for one's self in any field usually is an up-hill job. If present economic income is the controlling factor, the average man had better put himself in the hands of the specialized administrator, and probably in a large firm which controls the resources of production. Even in fields which do not have centralized control, competition is a stern reality. There is far more sincere hard work and competence in American economic life than the usual critic of our social order is willing to recognize. Wishful thinking and dilettante work will not result in successful community careers. Opportunities for community service careers probably are greater than in our grandfathers' days. Quite commonly, however, we do not want to pay the price our grandfathers paid, and we want much greater economic returns than they received.

Japanese Evacuee News

Relocation offices with a Field Director and group of travelling assistants are soon to be set up in five or six Midwestern cities by the War Relocation Authority in order to hasten the opening up of jobs for persons of Japanese ancestry. The F.O.R. Travel Loan-Fund Plan has been enthusiastically welcomed in the Relocation Centers thus far heard from.

The Steep Ascent*

Seven Meditations

By PHILIPPE VERNIER

O Thou of Little Faith

Matthew 14:31

There are many ways of lacking faith. The most frequent consists in not even risking yourself in the footsteps of the Master, watching him without moving, considering any slight desire to join him doomed to failure in advance. This is the way of those of the disciples who remained in the ship: one must be Jesus, they thought, to walk on the sea! And that is your attitude when you say, "What is the use of trying to live a saintly life? That would be too naive! Well I know that it is beyond my powers!"

The apostle Peter, however, was capable of faith: his heart was glowing, his decision prompt; he believed in his Master as a child believes in his father; it seemed quite natural to him to do what his Master did. "Lord, if it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water!"

Have you never, as a little child, known these transports? "O God, make me perfect today, like the young Samuel! like Jesus!" God answered you: "Come!" And for several hours, perhaps several days, you were transformed, carried away into highest heaven; it was much more wonderful than walking on the water. Then little by little the flame dwindled in your heart; you had the misfortune, instead of thinking of the Master, to consider the obstacles—like that poor Peter who saw the violence of the wind and took fright. Then it was finished, you started to sink; your faith had been only for an instant. "O thou of little faith!"

Even so you are happy if you have in your life some such memory. Knowing what this "little faith" that you had one day could make of you, you cannot fail to want to know faith permanently.

Need of the Physician

Mark 2:17

Your Master could have made himself out to be a sage bringing light to seekers, but he did not wish to be placed in the category of a theorist; it is in the realm of practical life that he teaches and acts. It is for this reason that he compares himself to a doctor: he does not discuss ideas, he wants to restore you to health.

The great obstacle is pride. To obtain from the invalid the confession that he is in "need of the physician" is the goal your Master pursues; afterward the cure depends only upon him.

We are all ill and we all pretend not to be. He has to convince us. He has to enter into every house and use, to save us, the argument that will touch each one of us, the words that will make us cry for pardon.

Hence the diversity of the Gospel: evil does not take the same form in everyone. To the Pharisees He speaks of

their Law, to the rich man of his possessions, to the woman of Samaria of her five husbands. He always tries to reach in each of us that mysterious spot that one would wish to hide because it is the sick place.

What Jesus wants to obtain from you is this confession: "I too have my sore point and I have *need of the physician*." After this he makes quick work of healing you.

Therefore let him enter in unto you, let him point out the evil, even if it is shameful, even if it outrages your self-love. He will change your shame into joy, your sick place will become the source of your cure.

Another Shall Gird Thee

John 21:18

You remember that tragic scene that unfolded on the shore of the lake of Tiberias, before the ascension of Jesus. Peter was there, all humble and contrite, still torn by his recent treachery, and the Master said to him, "When thou wast young thou girdest thyself and walkedst whither thou wouldest, but when thou shalt be old another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not."

A blind man who thinks he sees clearly, and so throws himself forward and falls headlong into holes—such is the zealous but undisciplined disciple, who permits himself to act without orders, who prays but who does not listen to the response of the Master. The docile servant, on the contrary, is a blind man who knows he is blind. He would be lost without the hand that guides him; he doubts himself too much to speak, walk or act before the Master has answered his cry.

For a long time Peter wanted to walk alone. He was sure of himself, of his love, of his fervor. He had to pass through the great disaster of denial to know that he could not trust himself, to confess himself beaten and renounce his own will.

Now he hangs his head, he lets himself be managed, as a child whom his mother dresses, as a slave who holds out his hands to be enchained.

And you? Will you also have to await the terrible lesson of some bankruptcy and of a great despair to get rid of your illusions? Through Peter, through the restive many whom your Master has bent, have you not already understood that 'salvation consists in stretching out one's hands, in letting oneself be clothed, formed, led, in submitting oneself in all things to that "Other" who, in binding you, delivers you?

Turn to Him the Other Also

Matthew 5:39

Ordinarily those who want to prove that your Master was a gentle dreamer, incapable of adapting himself to earthly conditions, invoke this precept: "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." "Jesus is the man," said Nietzsche, "who rose to the

*From the American translation by Edith Lovejoy Pierce, of *Avec Le Maître*, to be published in February by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. M. Vernier is a well-known pacifist pastor who was imprisoned by the French Government for his refusal to serve in the army.

highest level heretofore reached, and deceived himself in the most touching and sublime way."

If you consider well his life, however, you will find that he has no illusions about men. He knows their contradictions and their frailties; he knows the power of sin, active still in the hearts of his own disciples. "O faithless and perverse generation," he exclaimed, and the first word of his preaching was "Repent!"

Jesus' love is not that of a naive adolescent for a universe that he ignores; it is a love wounded, frustrated, bleeding, and therefore the more clear-sighted. "There is none good but one, that is, God," he said. Is that the language of a utopian optimism?

It is precisely because he sees clearly that he denounces our sham wisdom—that wisdom in which so much hatred and selfishness are concentrated, that instinct for vengeance that calls itself the right of self-defense! Well he knows that no one of us is holy! But he is there to show us the way.

Holiness does not let itself be won over to the folly of others, and contaminated by their sin. It opposes love against hatred, pardon against injury; instead of returning blow for blow, it absorbs and overcomes evil with good. In a word, it "turns the other also."

Committed Himself to Him that Judgeth Righteously

1 Peter 2:23

You are fortunate if you do not feel the need to justify yourself when you are blamed or accused. Your Master "when he was reviled, reviled not again" and he asks his disciples to be happy when every kind of evil is said of them unjustly. But rare, in fact, are those who obey; one has to be very holy to find good what men fear so much: calumny and outrage.

Certainly one can, through pride, claim to make fun of the opinions of people, and say that one despises them and that they are not worth refuting, but a real disciple of the Master acts quite otherwise. He listens to, and values, those who blame and insult him; far from disregarding their opinion, he is grateful to them for it. Those who treat him worst still do not see him as black as he sees himself; looking at his Master he feels himself much more guilty than his accusers say.

Also—and it is from this especially that his patience springs—each human outrage is for him the occasion of a consolation from God. The more harshly he is judged the closer his Master is to him. Each injustice that strikes him is a new secret that he shares with him, a new bond that unites them. He is as a child who likes his trouble since his mother consoles him for it—who would almost purposely give himself a bump or a big cut to feel himself coddled and cared for.

If you never had anything in view but what God thinks of you, how you would economize on efforts to defend yourself and on arguments to justify yourself! How you would be more free, more buoyant, more happy!

Father Save Me

John 12:27

Few martyrs have sought martyrdom. They have accepted it because they saw in it the will of God, but at

the outset they had said, like their Master "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me!"

Jesus was not a "superman," nor even a stoic; he had not that disdainful contempt for pain of which certain sages have boasted. As a "simple man" he asks that the ordeal be spared him, and his first impulse is that of any child in the face of danger: "Father, save me."

He knew that he had to suffer, and that "the Son of Man must be put to death," but against this fact his human flesh rebelled—our own nature that he had adopted, and through which he is right beside us to the end.

Hence that incomparable prayer that points the way to your own; which begins in anguish and agitation and culminates in perfect harmony; which says first: "Father, save me!" and finishes: "Father, glorify thy Name."

It is in praying that you will discover the road on which your Master wants you to travel, and in praying you will receive the strength to walk in it. He does not ask that you should be resigned beforehand; God is not a tyrant who dictates his orders to you. He is the loving Father who is moved by your cry, and who finds it normal that one should have recourse to him for deliverance, "for he doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men."

Bring him your trouble and your distress, your "prayer for yourself," without shame or false dignity. *He hears you always*, whether his will bends to your will, or his Spirit penetrates your spirit and he makes you feel what he expects of you, and causes you also to find assurance and peace in the prayer of Jesus: "Thy will be done!"

Will Ye Also Go Away?

John 6:67

Often the Master is represented as someone who hangs on to you and begs you to follow him. This he has never been. Preachers may have given him this attitude, seeking to draw you to him through a sort of pity, but he has quite a different firmness!

When numbers of disciples desert him he does not try to retain them, he does not soften the words that have frightened them, nor even speak a word of regret. He simply turns to those who have remained faithful: "Will ye also go away?" One feels indeed that he would go alone if need be, and that no defections would turn him from the road his Father has mapped out for him.

His enemies tried to prove to him that the devil possessed him; his parents said he was mad; Peter himself, one of his intimates, protested against the plan of God: "Be it far from thee, Lord: this shall not be unto thee!" But the Master knows where he is going. Nothing stops him and nothing turns him aside: those who do not want to follow him are always free to leave.

There are times when you think that he asks too much: so many people have already slackened because his words contradicted wisdom.—So many others because he claimed impossible sacrifices! It seems to you that it would be prudent to limit his requirements, to be less absolute. "Else," you say to him, "you will have no one left!" Then he turns around, looks at you and says, "And you! Will you also go away?"

News from the Peace Front

Child War Victims Seen Danger to Peace

Belgian Officials Warn Of Moral Breakdown

According to the *Belgian Information Center* in New York, "hundreds of reports smuggled out of Belgium have confirmed the fact that a whole generation of Belgians, an entire strata of society, are severely suffering from undernourishment and tuberculosis. . . . It has been said that those inside Belgium do not want food sent to them for fear that the Germans might take away part of it. There is no truth in such a statement. It belongs to that kind of rhetorical heroics which third-rate journalists invent after a copious dinner. . . . The whole question is whether the United Nations are fighting to liberate oppressed peoples or to liberate a vast cemetery. . . ."

To those who think that the situation is not so serious and that Belgians can recover as German children recovered from the effects of malnutrition after the last war, there is a sobering answer in an excellent little pamphlet, *The Coming Generation in Europe*, by James Wood Johnson, (Post War World Council, 10 cents). "The answer," says the author, who visited Spain and France last year, "is that those German children who escaped death from diseases (and a large percentage did die), were able to recover physically and were able to build up strong bodies largely because it was not until the last year of the war, and particularly the last months, that food privation in Germany reached a degree comparable to that which the children of the occupied countries are now subjected. It is because of the likelihood of further intensification of the suffering in the occupied countries, and a further prolongation of it which may well run into years, that permanent injury to the children of these countries becomes, not a probability, but a certainty. It is also generally recognized by psychiatrists that those German children who did regain physical health nevertheless retained stunted and distorted *minds*. To such a generation words and acts of hatred would be likely to seem more satisfying than to a normal generation. . . ."

"The next generation in the occupied countries, with whom our own next generation will have to deal, will be very different from the peoples we have known. Unquestionably the intellectual level will be lowered. Moral values will no longer be the same. They are not likely to consider Americans

with much esteem, regardless of the later successes we may have, for they will say that while there was yet time to help them we did not even try, and that therefore we have a share in the responsibility for the injuries they endured, unless we do try.

"The children of Europe will be its future civilization. If that civilization becomes something we would not like or would fear, we will have our share of the blame if we have not done our best to help. Can we look forward to a post-war period in Europe which will not be a veritable inferno of peace, if distorted minds are to be the foundations for such a 'civilization'?"

At long last the Bishops in Britain and the Federal Council of Churches in this country have guardedly asked our respective Governments to relax their blockade just enough to save the children.

Would every reader of FELLOWSHIP care enough to write two letters of appeal to Washington within the first fortnight of the New Year? One should go to President Roosevelt and the other to Hon. Herbert H. Lehman.

New Group to Fight Conscription of Women

A NATIONAL council of women is to oppose conscription of women in the process of organization, with preliminary work in charge of Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce, Chairman, (F.O.R. and Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, and member of National Council of the Episcopal Church); Helen O. Crowe, Recording Secretary (Catholic Worker group); and Mildred Scott Olmstead, Acting Executive Secretary (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom). Formal launching of the council will take place at Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on January 6.

The new council will recruit pacifists and non-pacifists, including both women who expect to register and those who do not, and will oppose compulsory registration as well as conscription. Activities connected with conscientious refusal to register, however, will not be part of its program. (Any women interested in the latter may correspond with Charlotte Bentley, New York F.O.R., 2929 Broadway, New York City.)

Paul V. McNutt, newly appointed manpower "czar," has indicated that Congressional legislation will be required for either compulsory registra-

tion or conscription of women. This leaves time to raise this issue in local communities, churches, women's clubs, unions, etc., and to communicate concern via telegrams and letters to Hon. Paul V. McNutt, War Manpower Commission, Washington, D. C.; and to Representatives and Senators. (*It is especially important that these latter know about such opposition right at the beginning.*)

For the present, correspondence for the Council of Women Against Extension of Conscription should be addressed to Mildred Scott Olmstead, fourth floor, 2929 Broadway, New York City.

Occupation of France Hits Refugee Work

As a result of the German occupation of all France, the F.O.R. Refugee Committee has found itself completely shut off from all the families in France that it was attempting to help, Marion Frenyear, secretary of the committee, reports. It is hoped that some of the committee's activities will be looked after by the European staff of the American Friends Service Committee, which is still operating in the south of France.

Through the AFSC the committee sent fifty dollars for fuel for a German widow and her family who now live in Switzerland. The request was accompanied by a letter in which appeared the moving statement:

"I am sure the Quakers will be proud of us. We have lived through difficult times, and we are longing for an orderly household. It is especially important for the children to be able to live with good people. They have had such a needy childhood and nearly forgot how to laugh."

The committee plans to send an additional fifty dollars shortly, and is soliciting help for this and other similar cases in Switzerland and Casablanca.

One other recent act of the Refugee Committee was the payment of the \$25 examination fee for a license to practice medicine for a refugee member. The work of the committee is carried on through Miss Frenyear, at 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The men in a Far West C.P.S. camp were called out to battle a four-day forest fire, along with a contingent of soldiers. The Forest Service men, comparing the work of both groups, divided the soldiers into squads of eight and put a C.O. in charge of each squad!

It's late but still good: The baseball team from the Patapsco (Md.) C.P.S. camp defeated a team of soldiers from near-by Fort Meade, 10-4.

F.O.R. Fund Expanded To Meet New Needs

In accordance with suggestions from a considerable number of members and the decision of the National Finance Committee and the Executive Committee of the Fellowship, the F.O.R. Civilian Public Service Fund, will henceforth be called *F.O.R. Conscientious Objector Fund* and its scope will be broadened.

During the first eleven months of 1942, more than \$7,000 was contributed to this fund. This has been used toward payment of the \$35 per month per man maintenance of C.O.s in C.P.S. camps, applied first to the maintenance of F.O.R. members who do not belong to any churches that might assist them. Any balance has been divided equally among the Friends, Brethren, and Mennonite Service Committees for C.O.s who had no affiliations whatever and whose expenses are underwritten by these "historic peace churches."

Experience has shown that there are other needs of C.O.s and their families that must also be met. From time to time families of men in camp or outside need relief. Much mutual aid of this sort is rendered by Fellowship members and local groups, and these local efforts must continue to be our chief reliance, but sometimes they must be supplemented.

Jobs for Dependents

Increasingly, jobs must be found for dependents of men in C.P.S. and for other pacifists who otherwise face the alternative of taking war jobs or being unemployed altogether. Pacifists need systematically to find work in which making a living can be combined with the positive building of a cooperative economic order. A Placement Service has been organized by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors to serve as a clearing house for these relief and placement activities.

The need, on the part of C.P.S. men, for educational and what might be called Fellowship "pastoral" service, is fully as great as the material need for maintenance expenses and clothing. The F.O.R. hopes soon to conduct a School of Non-Violence in one of the C.P.S. camps. We want to make it possible for leading pacifists to spend time living for several days in the camps and carrying on "pastoral" work.

(It should be noted that these comments do not refer to legal service to C.O.s or services closely related to it. These will be handled by other agencies such as the National Service Board for Religious Objectors and Legal Service for C.O.s, referred to elsewhere in this issue.)

Rather than establish separate funds for each of the forms of service mentioned, and thus multiplying appeals, it has seemed wise to have a single F.O.R. Conscientious Objector Fund from which, under the direction of the National Executive Committee, appropriations might be made to these various needs and to travel expenses, for example, that might be incurred in dealing with them — a Fellowship U.S.O., as it were. Of course members can continue to earmark their gifts for specific individuals or objects, and such requests will be respected.

Issue C.P.S. Stamps

To make it easier for members and their families and friends to contribute small sums at a time to this Fund, stamps in ten and twenty-five cent denominations and stamp books that one can carry in his pocket will be available after January 1, 1943. Arrangements will be made to sell these stamps through local group secretaries, F.O.R. field workers, and others who may be appointed for the purpose. They will be on sale at all F.O.R. offices and meetings. The National Office will continue to issue the special C.P.S. Certificate for contributions of \$5.00 and over (or under, if requested) made direct to the national headquarters for the Fellowship's C.O. Fund.

The beginning of the year is a good time for our members and groups to study the situation and to make plans for the year ahead. We may be sure the needs will be vast and will test our capacity for sacrifice.

Correspondence relating to the C.O. Fund should be addressed to Doris Grotewohl at 2929 Broadway, New York City.

C.P.S. Wife Wins Praise; Other News from the South

Women attendants are greatly needed at the Mental Hospital, Williamsburg, Virginia, where a detached C.P.S. Unit of twenty-five is already serving men patients. Dr. Brown, the director of the institution, said of the wife of one of the C.P.S. men working at the hospital, "I'd like to have fifteen of her!" Women would receive maintenance and \$35.00 a month.

Tennessee has been added to the states permitting the substitution of C.P.S. stamps and certificates for war bonds and stamps. Virginia pacifist leaders are seeking this privilege for their state.

An army captain and his wife came

Field Secretaries

South

CONSTANCE RUMBOUGH
918—17th Avenue, North
Nashville, Tenn.

Midwest

HERMAN WILL, JR.
740 Rush Street
Chicago, Ill.

Northwest

MARY FARQUHARSON
4033 University Way
Seattle, Wash.

Northern California

CALEB FOOTE
2151 Vine Street
Berkeley, Calif.

Southwest

GLENN SMILEY
1411 West 22nd Street
Los Angeles, Cal.

Rocky Mountain

MARGARET ROHRER
1418 Grape Street
Denver, Colo.

Rural

CARL J. LANDES
Merom, Ind.

Refugee

MARION FRENYEAR
2929 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

to an F.O.R. minister in Virginia and asked to join his church, explaining that they had been looking for a long time for a church with a pacifist minister.

Arle Brooks, a non-registrant conscientious objector, who has served a one-year sentence, has been resentenced to two years. He will probably spend it at El Reno, Oklahoma. James Ball, who has been associated with him on their farm project in Mississippi and who is also a non-registrant C.O. and has served a sentence, has been arrested too, and expects likewise to receive a second sentence.

Cecil and Fran Thomas have been making trips for the F.O.R. this fall all up and down Alabama. They have gone out on weekends in their "jalopy truck" from their school at Marion to visit groups. Sometimes they have taken their choir of Negro students to sing in large city churches. Gas rationing, we fear, will now slow up their program.

The Louisville and Asheville F.O.R. groups are particularly interested in interracial relations and are undertaking projects along that line. For Louisville F.O.R. Dr. Richard Kain of the University of Louisville is serving as political commentator or analyst reporting each month.

Marked for Invasion!

By

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

THE conscription of 18- and 19-year-old youth that has forced the universities and colleges of America into a receivership administered by the Army and Navy has also cast its shadow upon the nation's high schools which stand in the line of next attack. "The War Department reached into the high schools today," said an Associated Press dispatch of December 18, "to begin the training of thousands of specialists needed in modern mechanized warfare, and sent to the principals of 50,000 public, private, and parochial schools outlines of five courses which could be offered to students, and in night classes to older men now facing induction." Although the plan scheduled for high schools is labeled *voluntary*, it is of course obvious that the terrific social pressure of nationalism immersed in war is going to be launched with mass method against the immature group-mind of our high school population.

The coming educational onslaught probably will be pushed through the *High School Victory Corps*. The purpose of this organization has been set forth in a snappy handbook of this name published by the Government Printing Office and sponsored by Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, and by John W. Studebaker who heads the U. S. Office of Education. "A Victory Corps in every secondary school will do much to stimulate America's 6½ million high school youth to prepare themselves to help meet critical manpower needs in the months ahead," says Mr. McNutt in his foreword and adds, "It will give these students an opportunity to identify themselves immediately and directly with the war effort through various forms of service activities."

The pamphlet leads off with endorsements by the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of Commerce who speaks for the Civil Aeronautics Administration. The Secretary of War says that the development of this Corps by its sponsoring agencies "assures the participants in the program of authentic guidance." The kind of guidance contemplated is described in a later pertinent paragraph as follows:

"Guidance as it exists in a peacetime program cannot meet the critical needs of the hour. Among the foremost of these are the needs of the air forces of the Army and Navy. To meet the requirements of the great sky armada which is projected, from 30 to 40 per cent of the boys now in the last two years of the high schools will probably be needed. School counselors must help guide qualified youth toward the Air Service."

Our colleges and universities are in "a receivership administered by the Army and Navy." Now it is the high schools' turn. They are "Marked for Invasion!"

The Viewpoint of War

Another indication of the viewpoint of the agencies promoting this drive on America's secondary schools is given by this quotation: "The most important test of every day's decisions must be this: What can we do to hit the enemy harder; to contribute to his destruction? If what we are doing is not clearly an immediate or remote contribution to winning this war, then we should not be doing it."

According to this manual, the teaching of mathematics, social studies, economics, citizenship, and geography in the high school curriculum should be oriented toward winning the war; the boys' physical education "should stress aggressiveness"; military training is needed to inculcate "the habit of immediate and unquestioned obedience to proper authority"; we are advised that "all qualified boys in the junior and senior classes of the high school must be considered as potential candidates for aviation training"; and that "the high schools should encourage girls to prepare for work in war industries by offering short courses to develop the particular skills required for initial employment." Nor are the teachers omitted. They are told: "The time which teachers have heretofore given in teachers' meetings to the study of educational theory could now profitably be devoted to planning for the new responsibility, and teachers in their meetings could evolve and be given assignments which are definite, practical, and immediate."

Eight Objectives

Eight objectives of the High School Victory Corps are enumerated, viz: (1) "Guidance into critical services and occupations," (2) "War-time citizenship," (3) "Physical fitness," (4) "Military drill," (5) "Competence in science and mathematics" (6) "Pre-flight training in aeronautics," (7) "Pre-induction training for critical occupations," and (8) "Community services." The handbook says, "Each high school will seek to secure the maximum general membership in the Victory Corps. All students will usually be able to qualify as members." During the last year or two they will be organized into special service divisions

of the war effort with the right to wear the Victory Corps Insignia which attach to these divisions.

So, here we have the Federal bureaucracy trying to foist on local schools throughout the land an American version of *Hitler Jugend*. As the program stands, there is nothing said about studies and activities that relate to the part America should play in the coming peace; there is no recommendation for studies in international problems, interracial adjustments, foreign languages and cultures. Instead, the whole emphasis is placed on total war.

How It Can Be Fought

If, however, the common sense of the folks who live outside of Washington does not go war-mad; if the churches who have talked about a just and durable peace, and the Parent-Teacher Associations, local school boards, and community organizations that service youth, do not surrender to Washington overnight, it is possible that this un-American and un-Christian scheme may be a flop. Possibly it may be reconstructed so that the things of peace are played up and the things of war played down. That would be a tall order but is perhaps not impossible because *as yet* the program is not compulsory, nor is the War Department furnishing uniforms, money, and Army officers as it did with the R.O.T.C.

The battle for democracy and world peace on the high school front can be won or lost in America's local communities. Those who care about it can write to the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., sending fifteen cents for the *High School Victory Corps Manual*; they can read it and then prepare for action with the school boards and opinion-forming agencies in their home towns.

Indian Independence Day

The 13th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Indian Independence by the Indian National Congress is January 26, 1943. A number of groups and organizations are planning, through meetings or in other ways, to observe this anniversary and to use it as a means for educating their fellow church members and fellow citizens on the significance of the Indian National movement, of Gandhi, and of the whole concept of non-violent direct action.

C. P. S. Faces A New Year

THREE PAGES ON CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE

paralleling the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, to be available to those C.O.s (principally objectors on political and humanitarian grounds) who wish such service.

Outside the camps similar views have been expressed by pacifist leaders. Evan Thomas, National Chairman of the War Resisters League and member of the F.O.R. National Council, has called the "attempts of pacifists to institutionalize conscientious objection" and to force all C.O.s into the present C.P.S. camps "a denial of the fundamental principle on which pacifism rests." Frank Olmstead, Field Secretary of the W.R.L., after visiting eleven C.P.S. camps, estimated that 1,200 to 1,500 of the more than five thousand men in camps are discontented, and added that "the remedy of course lies in offering every man a choice between work under the Government for maintenance and pay, and work in a church camp for nothing, not even his own support."

Within the National Service Board the same fundamental problem arose, with the result that in November two members of the Board resigned. R. Boland Brooks, New York attorney who had been contributing his services to the work of appeals, and George B. Reeves, head of the Board's placement bureau, while praising the sincerity and effort of the N.S.B.R.O., expressed dissent to its "methods and policies".

Less than a month later, on their own initiative, Brooks and Reeves organized an "Advisory Board for C.O.s," under which name they sent out a memorandum prepared by Major MacLean of the Selective Service staff.

Pacifist Leaders Confer

Aware of the very real problems involved, and fearful of a dangerous rift in pacifist ranks, pacifist leaders spent many hours in conference, out of which evolved a plan to meet the situation.

This plan, which was approved by the National Council of the Fellowship on December 11, involves the operation for a three-months trial period of the Legal Service to Conscientious Objectors (an extension of the former Legal Aid to Conscientious Objectors committee) with offices at 1734 F Street, N. W., Washington, and 2929 Broadway, New York City. Officers are A. J. Muste, chairman; Abraham Kaufman, secretary; Evan Thomas, treasurer. Board members include Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin, Richard Gregg, Allan Knight Chalmers, Georgia Harkness, Charles F. Boss, Jr., and John Nevin Sayre. Messrs. Brooks and Reeves will serve as Director and Associate Director respectively. The Council's approval of the plan is not to be interpreted as approval of all actions and statements of these men in

connection with their resignations from the National Service Board.

Functions of L.S.C.O.

Functions of the new organization will include (a) handling cases of C.O.s who come into the hands of the legal machinery of the Government because of refusal to register, or to report for induction, or for similar reasons; (b) handling of appeals made by C.O.s under Selective Service for Presidential review, etc.; (c) aiding those men in C.P.S. camps who request representation in general questions dealing with their camp life, classification, dependency, etc.

It was agreed that overlapping of functions between Legal Service and the National Service Board must be kept at a minimum, and arrangements will be worked out between the two agencies to keep each other informed of cases on which they are working. Not included in the functions of the new organization is the task of arousing public sentiment on Governmental policies and legislation relating to C.O.s. It was agreed that this task could be handled best by a national organization along the lines of the New York area's United Pacifist Committee. For this purpose an informal committee was designated, consisting of Allan Knight Chalmers, A. J. Muste, and Frank Olmstead.

Messrs. Brooks and Reeves, in accepting the positions with the Legal Service to Conscientious Objectors, agreed to terminate the existence of the Advisory Board, and to turn over to the informal committee mentioned any letters received in reply to the MacLean memorandum.

Commenting on the developments, A. J. Muste declared, "There is an almost bewildering variety of C.O.s and pacifists. Obviously there is no one organization which can fulfill the needs of all of them. . . . When it comes to the problems of C.O.s under Selective Service, the functional distinction between administrative and 'service' activities on the one hand and the work of opposing or seeking to alter certain Governmental measures on the other hand, might even under the most ideal conditions have required two different organizations or committees. If, owing to the diversity among C.O.s and the vast amount of work to be done, even the first type of work requires experimentation with more than one agency, let us make the experiment in a truly experimental spirit. Failure to cooperate, lack of the pacifist spirit of truth and constructive good will among us, will do more than all the militarists combined could possibly do to discredit conscientious objection to war as well as pacifism in its broader sense."

CIVILIAN Public Service, pacifist-supported effort to solve the problem of "alternative service" for war-time America's conscientious objectors, ended the year 1942 with the assurance that it still has many problems to solve and the possibility that 1943 will see additional changes in its make-up.

In the less than two years since the first Civilian Public Service camp opened, seventy-one additional camps have been put into operation, with a total of 5,567 campers.¹ Of these, 2,032 were working under the United States Forestry Service; 1,821 under Soil Conservation Service; 617 under National or State Park Service; 159 under the Bureau of Reclamation; 50 under the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission; 22 under U. S. Public Health Service. Assigned as orderlies or attendants in mental hospitals in 12 states were 310 men, with many requests for more coming in from other hospitals. The total program currently involves an expenditure of \$125,000 per month.

Fifteen men are studying post-war relief and reconstruction at Columbia; 21 are working on hookworm control in Florida; 11 have been assigned to the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration; 15 to a school for delinquent Negro boys; others to dairy farms in New York, Connecticut, and Wisconsin.

Life within the camps has varied widely. Many men have found it a situation within which they have been able to apply their pacifist beliefs brilliantly and fruitfully. Others, increasingly sensitive to the element of compulsion involved, or disillusioned about the "work of national importance" to which they are assigned, have expressed growing dissatisfaction with the entire set-up. Still others are restive under the necessity of working under church direction while financing themselves in the camps.

Vocal expressions of these feelings have urged (a) the creation of Government-financed camps for those C.O.s who wish them; (b) provision of maintenance and some wages by the Government for work done, with each C.O. having the right to turn his share over to a pacifist or other charitable group if he desires; and (c) the creation of an organization supplementing and

¹ All figures as of November 19, 1942. On that date there were 5,124 men actually in camps or on detached service, with 443 more under assignment.

The National Council and C.P.S.

Resolutions regarding the Civilian Public Service program, adopted by the F.O.R. National Council December 12

Regarding the relation of the Fellowship to the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, the Council unanimously approved the following:

"The F.O.R. has in the past given vigorous support to C.P.S. and N.S.B.R.O. and we plan to continue to do so in the year about to open. We have valued the opportunity for service afforded to us through our participation in the work of these organizations. We are deeply sensible of the great service to the cause of religion, democracy and pacifism which has been rendered through these agencies, especially by the Historic Peace Churches, and we request our Secretary to convey to the Executive Directors of N.S.B.R.O. and the Service Committees our greetings, our appreciation of the work they have rendered, and our pledge of support for the coming year."

Other C.O. Problems

A number of other matters relating to conscientious objectors also were acted upon, in most cases providing for vigorous action on policies to which the F.O.R. has long been committed:

"1. We recognize that a considerable number of C.O.s are sincerely and on what seem to them fundamental grounds opposed to rendering alternative service under the Selective Service Act within the existing machinery (N.S.B.R.O. and the Historic Peace Church Service Committees) and in camps under religious auspices. So long as all C.O.s must accept civilian service within this machinery or go to jail, we feel that the voluntary aspect of C.P.S. is drastically curtailed and as in the case of such men virtually nonexistent. Since it means that some pacifists must accept an arrangement made by a section of the pacifist movement which, they hold, does not truly represent them, one group of pacifists is placed in the position of serving as an agency of a war-making and conscripting government for coercing other pacifists. Serious questions are thus raised with reference to the relations between the state and churches which have always placed special emphasis on the freedom and sacredness of personality, the independence of the Church from state control, and the lordship of God—not any human individual or agency—over conscience.

"We therefore believe that N.S.B.R.O. and the Service Committees should inform Selective Service that they cannot accept in the C.P.S. camps men who are seriously opposed to rendering alternative service within this pattern.

"2. The Council holds that the gov-

ernment which conscripts men for civilian service is logically obligated to pay them at the same rate as soldiers and to provide them on the same basis with social insurance and other services given to soldiers. Enabling legislation opening the way for Congressional appropriations for such purposes is already on the statute books. F.O.R. is prepared to cooperate with other agencies, therefore, in petitioning the Selective Service Administration and Congress that such provision be made for those IV-E men in camp or on detached service who desire it.

"We believe, however, that the position of the C.O. in local communities and nationally has been strengthened and an important witness has been made regarding the pacifist's readiness to give sacrificial service to his fellows by the arrangements hitherto prevailing. Always provided, therefore, that these arrangements are not imposed on those who object to them, it is our hope that a large number of C.O.s may continue to serve, without pay and for maintenance whether provided by themselves or their families, by pacifists and others who support C.P.S. because they believe in freedom of conscience even in war time, or by wages for detached service.

"3. We believe that the dependents of C.O.s who are often not themselves pacifists and whose situation is in any case created primarily by the decision of the C.O. on whom they are dependent and not by themselves, are in a different position from C.O.s. We hold that the Government ought to make the same provision for these dependents, whether or not they are personally pacifists, as for the dependents of soldiers and we authorize our staff to cooperate with other agencies in taking steps which in their judgment may serve to promote this object.

"4. We are gratified at the progress that has been made in providing detached service, especially in hospitals. We believe that it is, however, imperative that a greater variety of detached service should be made available and for more men. We reaffirm the action of the September Council meeting and ask the N.S.B.R.O. and others to work for the right of men who have served a year in C.P.S. camp to find and/or be given individual assignments to work which they regard as vital.

"5. The Council was concerned over the recent decision of Selective Service and the Justice Department which makes it virtually impossible for men who were refused IV-E classification by the Selective Service machinery to get any parole from Federal prison to C.P.S. or elsewhere.

"It favors arrangements by which such men and other C.O.s convicted under the draft act may be paroled direct from court to C.P.S. or detached service as they may choose; and the transfer from regular prisons to prison farms of those C.O.s who desire such transfer. The Council furthermore urged again that civilian bodies be set up to deal with appeals of C.O.s for Presidential review and to deal with parole problems relating to C.O.s.

"6. Concern was also expressed over the fact that C.O.s who have completed a term for violation of the draft act are again being prosecuted and sentenced to prison, thus instituting the 'cat and mouse' procedure in dealing with these men."

WMC Now Controls Policies on C.O.s

Within the past month a considerable number of men from C.P.S. camps have been assigned to "detached service" in mental hospitals, while at the Cheltenham School in Maryland white and Negro C.O.s are working together for delinquent Negro boys. There are still far too few of these opportunities and too few types of service available, especially when the need of social institutions for trained personnel is taken into account.

Policies in this and other matters now are in process of formulation under the new arrangement making Selective Service a bureau under Mr. McNutt, which means that this is a good time for concerned individuals and groups to make their feelings known. There are indications that the War Manpower Commission may adopt a liberal, socially minded policy. For example, in reply to a recent telegram from A. J. Muste, the General Counsel of the Commission wrote that he agreed that "there is no legal problem involved in this matter"; i.e. the Selective Service law does open the way for the fullest utilization of the "public service" C.O.s are able to render.

Communications urging an increase in the number and character of "detached service" projects should be sent to Mr. Arthur Flemming, Acting Executive Director, War Manpower Commission, Washington, D. C. It will be especially helpful if State Health Commissioners, heads of hospitals and other private or Governmental social agencies and research bodies, write to Mr. Flemming, suggesting projects where C.O.s are needed and would be welcomed.

Admission to the "Candlelight Victory Concerts" in Syracuse, N. Y., is by war stamps, but Syracuse pacifists have arranged to have C.P.S. stamps on sale also, and these are accepted for admission too.

Assignment in Reconstruction

By LARRY MOORE

PUERTO RICO is in a mess. Climatically so beautiful, sociologically so tawdry, it is a cancer of imperialistic society of which every American should be ashamed. Poverty-stricken and economically sick before the war, the island now finds its people on the verge of starvation because of unemployment and lack of foodstuffs.

Here in an area of about 3,500 square miles live approximately two million persons, an average of something like 550 per square mile. Here are telescoped all of the social problems with which a sick society has to cope. And here, like proverbial birds in the wilderness, are eleven C.O.s, trying their best to figure out a few of the methods needed to solve these problems.

Puerto Rico is a relatively new field for reconstruction. Perhaps because it is our own doorstep, we in the States have thus far ignored it. There is really pitifully little that the average American knows about the conditions on this isle. While differing from those of war-torn areas in some characteristics, the problems of Puerto Rico nevertheless do have striking similarities, for the war has hit the island hard. Consequently, it makes a fine "lab" for reconstruction training. Because of its complete dependence on the mainland, the island's economy has taken a terrific beating by the shipping shortage. It has been estimated that today 50 to 60 per cent of all wage-earners are unemployed. Only the tremendous sums the Government pours into military preparations here keep the wolf from the door.

Food riots are becoming rather common. With the necessary cash wages gone in the cities, migration from urban to rural areas is reversing the trend of several decades. Prices are soaring. It is a pitiful sight to see the hunger-drawn faces of the *jibaro* women when their few pennies no longer can buy the daily rice, beans, and codfish. For rice and codfish there is none, and beans are too dear. Too often a cigar takes the place of a meal. The pressures of fear and want are felt here, as they are in Europe, by a people with too little education, too little wealth, and too little political leverage to rescue itself. All the resultant aggravations of a world

at war are epitomized in Puerto Rico today.

Into that background could come any number of varying types and sizes of reconstruction units. So the mongrel called C.P.S. Camp No. 43 is a strange experiment, part reconstruction unit, part detached service, part C.P.S. camp, and part guinea pig. As much by chance as anything else, it happens that this unit is to be chiefly medical. There is no particular reason why it could not have been educational, recreational, sociological, vocational, or agricultural in its function. In fact, some of these other fields will be invaded slightly once the small unit hospital is in operation. If the experiment is successful, reinforcements later may bolster the number, and broaden the program.

Not all of the eleven men in "Old 43 Skidoo" are planning on post-war reconstruction work. Many of them see the work in Puerto Rico as an end in itself, which is somehow very essential to success. But for all, whether their view is to the future or to the present, the problems encountered daily are quite plain. There is, for example, the language barrier. Statistically, a large number of *portorriqueños* are supposed to be able to speak English. Unfortunately, the *jibaros* have never seen the statistics; consequently, work is some-

The Martin G. Brumbaugh unit of C.P.S. men on detached service in Puerto Rico is made up of 11 men, of whom the author is one. It is the kind of work that most conscientious objectors would like to have, and is important for that reason as well as for its own accomplishments.

what retarded by the fact that only a few of the men are able to converse easily with the natives. It is unanimously decided that requisite number one for any reconstruction work is speaking knowledge of the language.

During the construction of the 26-bed hospital in Los Rabanos, the practicability of varied talents has been manifested many times. Without men who combined both specific skills and wide general knowledge, reconstruction assumes the aspect of an army moving in. From our two doctors and eleven C.P.S. men we have found talent for everything from setting building piers in mud up to the knees to doing difficult obstetrics in a two-by-four shack in the mountains. From this experience it is apparent that training involves learning many things well if loss of time and valuable opportunities are to be avoided.

To these more fundamental principles one must add another, rather intangible, but highly important. It is the "oomph" in public relations, the

salesmanship of the program, the ability to get oneself termed *simpatico*. In short, it is the understanding that one must acquire of the people with whom he works. The kernel of success in the program here seems to lie in the ability to understand the nature of rural Latin-Americans. Believe us, it's no easy job.

For example, laboring to explain the value of time and schedules is a never-ending job. In this land of eternal spring, what matter a few minutes, a few hours, or even a few days more or less? There is always *mañana*. Just because a few *locos Americanos* have crashed the gates, is that any reason to speed up? So maybe they do, and maybe they don't.

Part of the job is to jar the people of Puerto Rico out of their complacency toward their cultural and economic standards. So long down-trodden by the overwhelming problems they face, many of them have lost hope and have sunk into an attitude of helplessness which the Government has done much to foster by its plethora of alphabetical agencies and hush-hush donations. Yet with all these exceptions, the heart of the reconstruction aim remains: to give people zeal and a fresh start in life.

In Puerto Rico medical work is especially necessary. The tropics have always been cursed by disease, and this isle is no exception. Incidence rates of common fatal maladies mount many times higher here than in the States. Parasitic intestinal infections average 60 per cent of all patients in our dispensary, and go much higher in surrounding areas. The rural section of the island has one doctor per 15,000 persons, as compared with about one to 800 in the States. Our M.D.s Parker and Coffman are expected to serve an area of 40,000. Is it any wonder that many have told us we are filling a great need here?

Transportation to Puerto Rico is the bottle-neck of bettering our work. It took the unit five weeks to make the hop, and Mrs. Parker, our head nurse, arrived but three weeks ago. Manpower is short, and we may have to wait long for reserves. But when and if they do come, the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, our sponsoring agency, will be happy to open two new fields of work in other parts of the island. We have found these officials, as all *portorriqueños*, enthusiastic about our work, and helpful beyond all expectations.

Our experiment is new, too new for a real analysis of where it may go, or what significance it may have for the future. But there is not a member of the unit who does not face the coming days eagerly. We have a responsibility to C.P.S., a responsibility to P.R.R.A., a responsibility to the Puerto Ricans, and a responsibility to God. We accept our burden knowing we must not, and will not, fail.

Message to Christians

THE contrast between thoughts of the Mother and Child, of innocence, laughter, good will and peace which we traditionally associate with the Christmas season, and what is actually going on in the world has never been so stark and awful as it is today.

On land and sea and from the air the vast, diabolical engineering of war slaughters its millions. Bereft, by fear, of their sanity and of human pity men drive the innocent and helpless from their homes to perish after indescribable suffering as wanderers on the face of the earth. For many a son and daughter of God born this Christmas season there is not even a stable in which to be cradled. The destruction of natural resources, soil, livestock, and productive equipment, built by the toil and sweat of men over many years, is already so great in many parts of Europe and Asia that if the fighting were to cease today and the peoples were unitedly to turn to repairing the ravages of war they would face such a task as no previous generation has confronted.

Yet all this is less serious than the injury that is being wrought to the spirit of man. Sober and competent observers agree that never has such a volume of hate been generated as will be released when, as it is ironically put, "hostilities cease." A refugee just arrived in this country said of a great neutral city in which she had briefly found shelter: "The tension is so terrific that it hits you like a blow with a fist. Half the population is waiting to spring at the throat of the other half."

Illusion of Victory

Many of you, our fellow Christians to whom we speak, have consoled yourselves with the hope that a victory of the United Nations in the war would create the opportunity to build a world in which such things could no longer be and that thus there would be atonement for the anguish of this age. To us of the Fellowship of Reconciliation such a hope has always seemed illusory since we believe that war begets and aggravates all the evils it is intended to stop or heal. You can hardly fail to have noted that as soon as the recent military situation took a turn favorable to the United Nations, a series of events occurred which revealed the sinister nature of the forces that are shaping the pattern of "the peace." Winston Churchill at the Lord Mayor's dinner in London on November 10, proclaimed: "For ourselves we have no wish but to see France free and strong with her empire gathered around her and with Alsace-Lorraine restored." Then after saying that the British entered the war "only for honor and to do our duty in defending the right," he hastened to speak up for the British Empire's stake in the peace: "Let me"

Now is the time of salvation. Can the Christian Church offer mankind a creative alternative to our present agony? In this Christmas "Message to the Church" the F.O.R. National Council calls for such action.

he said, "make this clear in case there should be any mistake about it in any quarters; we mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

Not a word about a federal world order, economic union in Europe or elsewhere, or the end of imperialism; but France and Britain are to gather their empires about them and hang on to them tighter than ever.

In our own country developments such as the recent elections indicate that forces are gathering which may well make the next "peace" even more reactionary and sinister than the last. In North Africa the United States entered into collaboration with the avowedly fascist Admiral Darlan. When alarm was expressed by multitudes in the occupied countries of Europe and in Asia who had believed the promises of a democratic post-war world, our State Department issued a Machiavellian explanation about simply "using" Darlan and his associates for our own purposes. The press makes little attempt to conceal the use of bribery in these North African negotiations. Thus once again the word of the noted British economist and noble Christian, R. H. Tawney, is fulfilled: "The destruction, by the effort to achieve victory, of the moral principles which alone can justify a war, is the commonest lesson of history."

Meanwhile the demotion of Sir Stafford Cripps and other developments indicate a stiffening of the refusal to grant independence to the people of India. Gandhi and Nehru remain in jail. "The people of Asia," Pearl Buck declared to a recent meeting of a thousand world leaders in the arts, literature, science, and diplomacy, "are further from us today than they have ever been." And added that this war "has ceased to be a fight for freedom—we face now another war of which this one is only the beginning."

There may be those who, faced with these things, can only say that we must nevertheless go on with the war, on to another dictated peace, on to another and much more destructive and brutal war. But cannot the Christian churches, Christian men and women, provide mankind in this dire hour with a creative alternative?

As Christians we believe that our world cannot be saved unless some time the way of truth, repentance, forgiveness, reconciliation, takes the place of the way of war, falsehood, hatred, and revenge. Nor can we believe that this can happen without a great spiritual rebirth, a venture of faith on the part of our age, a turning of the hearts of men in humility and trust to the God of Love.

It is now clear that the war does not lead in that direction, but ever farther away from it. Every day the war goes on the chances of "a just and durable peace," a free world, grow less. We must call on the peoples, therefore, to enter now on The Better Way.

Let the Churches Urge

Let the Christian churches, let Christian people, urge:

That the war must stop—now, and that our Government should take the lead in bringing this about.

That, to this end, our Government should offer to join at once with all peoples in building a Peace growing out of repentance for and universal repudiation of the policies which led to the war, based on the consent of peoples, not on the dictates of a conqueror, and aiming at a world of freedom and equality for all.

That the work of forgiveness and reconciliation—feeding the hungry multitudes of Europe and Asia, healing the sick, clothing the naked, providing shelter for the homeless begin Now.

That Now men must go back to the work for which God placed them on this fair planet—back to plowing the ground, sowing the seed, reaping the harvest; back to building homes and communities where God may be worshipped in spirit and in truth; back to the labors of science, art, and prayer.

Who can doubt that to such leadership on the part of the Church of Christ a response would come from war-weary peoples all over the world? In their inmost hearts they know that they are on the way of destruction and they wait as of old for the authentic voice of a wisdom not of this world, proclaiming the commandments and salvation of God.

(N.B.—The above was adopted as a resolution by the National Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, meeting in New York December 12, 1942.)

On the West Coast a group of men, members of the Fellowship, spent three hours together on a recent evening "training in things of the spirit," and then went out two by two to interview certain fascist-minded individuals in the community, "seeking to inject something of the spirit of Christ into the racial situation."

The Local Church in War Time

Edited by Elmore M. McKee

Opinions, Activities, and Perplexities of Church Leaders

The Parents of Soldiers

By Rev. Theodore C. Mayer
Rocky River, Ohio

THE problem that perplexes me the most at present is how best to serve the parents of boys in the armed services. I have no difficulty with the soldiers themselves. Quite naturally, my relation with the C.O.s and their parents is intimate and mutually helpful. But when it comes to some of the parents of boys in the armed services, I am thwarted in my desire to be of service to them in their time of special need.

It is not hard to understand the feeling on the part of these parents that the pacifist minister is not supporting their sons in the army, that he is labeling them as sinners and not giving them the recognition and honor that society in general has for the soldier. Parents often find their only peace, in the midst of their fears and worries, in the belief that their sons are defending the faith and our liberties as well as making a contribution to the welfare of mankind. Not to believe this would make their sorrows unbearable. The pacifist, without meaning to make them miserable, tends to be a threat to their scheme of thinking and so becomes an irritant. How then are we to serve the parents of soldiers?

1. There is a dreadful temptation to compromise our position. If we don't say too much and if what we do say is vague enough, then all men may be led to believe that we are saying what they want said. Our desire to comfort and minister to our people tempts us to make our religion (not Christianity) an opiate. As some religions have tended to make people content with the oppression of their economic and political systems, so now we may try to adjust our people to the war for that glorious end of comforting them in the midst of their sorrows. But the religion of Jesus has never made people fit into a pagan society. It has always made them misfits, for the Christian fits only into the Kingdom of God.

2. If we refuse to release ourselves from the tensions which our pacifism creates in our relation to some of the parents of soldiers, I think we can expect some of them to become indifferent, critical, and even bitter toward us. We should not accept this without a struggle toward reconciliation. And if reconciliation fails, we should be slow to think that we have arrived at the place where we can "rejoice and be exceedingly glad" because we are being "persecuted for righteousness sake." But we can expect our pacifism to thwart

our ministry to some parents in these days.

3. Even so there is much that we can do to help parents of soldiers and which will tend to keep open the channels between pacifist minister and parents:

a. We can keep in close touch with the boys, thus demonstrating our concern for them and making clear that our opposition to what they are involved in does not carry over to them as individuals.

b. We can keep in close touch with the parents, placing them on special calling lists to be seen at least once a month.

c. I have been conducting a monthly Vesper Communion Service for parents of men in service. One has to guard against allowing this service to take on the atmosphere of a memorial service, but such a service can be very personal as it recognizes all the boys by name (including the C.O.s) and can increase the faith and hope and love in these parents in these days of special need.

The Preacher and the Soldiers

By Bernard C. Clausen
Pittsburgh, Pa.

We have had our chance at these young men, but most of them have been unconvinced. They have gone off to war, some of them defiantly, some of them with a wistful, half-apologetic regret. They have left their families behind and homes which will soon need extra pastoral care when bad news begins to filter in. What can the pacifist minister do now?

He can go beyond all others (if he will—and he should) in the direction of genuine compassionate interest in the boys he has known. He can write more letters, more deeply personal in nature, more faithful in concern, than if he were not a pacifist. He can keep in closer touch, by constant pastoral calls, at the homes the boys once enjoyed. He can refuse to allow a difference in ideas to separate him from the poignant human needs, now starting to show themselves. He need not apologize for his past, nor take back any conviction in the present. He can thrust his compassion into the future, and prepare himself to serve in those moments of dread sure to come.

Because I am known as a pacifist, I saw to it that a recording of a memorable section of our church worship service was made last month so that discs could be made, and sent around the world, wherever there was a soldier or sailor who would be longing to hear the sound of his church at Christmas

Editorial Advisory Committee

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time. The final words on the record were a whispered benediction spoken by the whole congregation. "God bless you wherever you are!" In that benediction I fervently joined.

Local F.O.R. Group Aids Evacuees

One of our F.O.R. members happened to be at the station when a group of twenty Japanese-American mothers with their infants arrived at Bakersfield, California. They had been on the train all day, and were to stop here for two hours before resuming their trip to a camp somewhere in Arkansas.

The oldest child was two months old, the youngest seventeen days. No nurse was in attendance, only one man having been put in charge of all these tiny babies and their young mothers, many of them still weak from childbirth.

The group had been held in hospitals and convalescent homes until the authorities pronounced them able to travel. They had been given only two hours notice; there had been no time to notify husbands or family, and many were worried about the reception awaiting them at the end of their long journey.

The local F.O.R., on being notified, promptly responded with hot chocolate, cookies, cake, and, most important of all, the friendliness and cheer that can prove to these unhappy victims of war that the spirit of brotherhood is not dead.

Indiana F.O.R. Rations Meetings

Plans of the Indiana Fellowship of Reconciliation to meet the problems created by the gasoline rationing were explained in detail to members of the Midwest F.O.R. Committee at its meeting in Chicago recently.

The Indiana group have decided to hold only two or three statewide meetings all year, and these will be located in different sections of the state. Other activities will center in about a dozen districts, determined by the location of major population centers.

The next meeting of the Midwest Committee will be held Saturday afternoon and evening, March 6, 1943, at the Central Church, Chicago.

With the Master

By PHILIPPE VERNIER

Translated by Edith Lovejoy Pierce

A collection of seventy-five beautiful meditations written by the well-known French pacifist while he was in prison for refusal of military service. With a Foreword by RUFUS JONES. Publication February 1. .75

These meditations will carry their rare quality to all readers who are eager for reality. They have the childlike simplicity of one who has found his way into the Kingdom.—Rufus Jones.

Coercion of States: in Federation

By Harrop Freeman and
Theodore Paullin

The first of a significant series of studies to be produced by the Pacifist Research Bureau. This one throws light on current thinking about federal world union by considering the results of earlier attempts to coerce states into some form of federation. .15

PAUL JONES Minister of Reconciliation

By John Howard Melish

This moving biography of the beloved pacifist Bishop and Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation has met with an enthusiastic response. Be sure to get your copy before the edition is exhausted. .50

Recent Books

Into the Way of Peace

Only 133 copies remain of our edition of this collection of essays written during the present war by eleven outstanding British pacifists. \$1.25

The United Nations of the World

By Haridas T. Muzumdar. A. J. Muste calls it "a noble and thought-provoking exposition . . . by a disciple of Gandhi." \$2.50

A Dialogue in the Desert

By Gerald Heard. The Christ of the Three Temptations thinks through his mission and his message. \$1.00

The New Testament Basis of Pacifism

By G. H. C. Macgregor. Vitally important for every Christian, pacifist or non-pacifist. .50

Recent Pamphlets

Quakers and the Christian Church

By Percy Bartlett. Newly imported from England. .50

New Nations for Old

By Kenneth Boulding .25

Training for the Life of the Spirit (No. 2)

By Gerald Heard .25

What Gandhi Is Teaching the World

By John Haynes Holmes .10

Conscripts of Conscience

By R. Alfred Hassler. The stories of sixteen pacifist leaders who refused to register. .25

F.O.R. Pocket Songster .25

School Children and the War

Bulletin issued by N. J. State Department of Education. Reprinted in leaflet form from December *Fellowship*. \$1.50 per 100; each, .02

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